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515 do so anywhere except in a house containing a lumber floor. In their homes, people who chew tobacco or take snuff generally expectorate into a small tin can containing an inch of water which is kept standing under the bed. Members of either sex are often seen bending from the waist and studying a stream of mucuous for signs of blood. Both sexes generally clean the nose by blowing it between the thumb and index finger, then wiping the hand on the side of the trousers or dress. Nose picking is frequent.

461 The English word "work" has restricted significance among the Kaska, since it is almost
467 exclusively applied to hiring out to white men for wages. Hiring out for woodcutting, lumbering, freight handling, and working for government survey parties, is seldom undertaken except in case of necessity. Duties outside the society which require special abilities, such as piloting river boats, are far more satisfactorily regarded by the Indians. Since the completion of the Highway, opportunities for such work are no longer available. During the building of the airport, a number of men hired out to contractors and this period is looked back on with considerable pleasure, chiefly because of the excellent remuneration and the gifts (food, cigarettes, and liquor) that were received. Women do not hire out for wages, although some women earn a little money making dog packs and moccasins to order for white trappers.

461 In general Indian men find it far more pleasant to be their own supervisors in the performance of their own socially patterned tasks than to hire out and work for either white men or other Indians. While certain of these necessary duties are more or less congenial to specific individuals, no evidence could be obtained of tasks which were generally regarded as onerous or unpleasant. In several interviews Nitla saw the Indian man's typical round of activities as a somewhat futile and painful way of existence. He tended to pity himself and compared the Indian's life to that of the white man who "just sit down one place." On one occasion he said: "By goodness, man hard time. Move the camp around . . . go after camp. I go hunt around that way. Make fire, hunt. Sometime get no moose. Second time hunt moose again. No moose. Woman set snare, bring rabbits, meat. Sometime pack berries home. Cook, mix, eat. Another man hunt moose. Who lucky for game, get moose. Pack home. Give that man a piece of meat. After, people move camp. Make the dried meat. Sit down. Soon finish game. Hunt the moose again. . . . woman find porcupine sometime. Find two. Clean 'em. That man want porcupine. Kids he send them. Give half sometime . . . Hunt moose, two men apiece each. Woman stay, just watch the camp. Have to go a long way to shoot the moose. Sometime lost moose . . . Oh, hard luck! He's stuck. He keep one dog, hunt
[192] porcupine. Dog he find porcupine. He not find porcupine, nothing to eat one day. Sleep. Kids he soon crying . . . Mother mean. Hell! My goodness!"[15]

461 The principal incentive for accepting work with white men or other Indians (as in
465 housebuilding) is the need to earn money for summer living following a poor trapping season. Men who have had a successful trapping period are, of course, completely uninterested in hiring out. Nick Lang said frankly that he disliked working for wages because such work

[15] It must be noted that Nitla is referring to the way of life of the Frances Lake Indians who, in an area of high prices, cannot get sufficient fur to buy a winter's supply of food and so are highly dependent on game for subsistence. This in turn curtails their opportunities to trap. Thus they are inextricably caught in a vicious circle.

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Language and Communication

The division of Kaska speech into four mutually intelligible dialects has already been discussed in connection with the tribal differentiation of the Kaska nation. These languages belong to the Athapaskan stock and, like most of the divisions of that group, are tone languages.

In addition to understanding the speech of the members of other Kaska tribes, most people can also manage to understand non-Kaska speakers from surrounding areas who use more distinctive Athapaskan dialects. The mutual intelligibility of the dialects has probably contributed to reducing the need for any marginal language. Some men understand and can speak a little Chinook, but this jargon is never used within the community.

To whites and, to a lesser degree, among themselves, the Kaska speak a variety of English which follows some of the rules of that language but possesses distinctive features of its own. Thus, for example, the feminine gender is usually ignored and the pronouns "he" or "him" are sometimes applied to both sexes and neuter objects. In replying to a question employing the negative, "Yes" is largely used instead of "No." Thus, "You don't know that story?" is answered, "Yes," if the speaker wishes to indicate a lack of knowledge. In speaking English, the sound l is substituted for r by most adults. A few French words have entered the language; *merci* is sometimes used for "thanks" and the adjective *li* is occasionally employed for "the." Several Tlingit words (like *gultlis* for "thank you") are also employed.

While orthography is of minor importance in this monograph, a brief statement of the signs used to represent some sounds occurring in the kinship terminology and elsewhere should be given. The vowels are:

i· as in English *eat*
i as in English *it*
e front unrounded, somewhat like English *let*
æ as in English *hat*

Final vowels usually receive the weak stress found in the last sound of English *sofa*. A dot following other vowels than i indicates lengthening; in the case of *i* the dot signifies a high front unrounded vowel. The diphthong aj is pronounced as in English *my*.

Consonants are as in English, with some exceptions. The t is formed with the tongue against the lower teeth and is slightly voiced before most vowels. The dorsal lateral spirant ł is pronounced as in the Welsh. Other consonants include the voiced and voiceless dorsal spirants, γ and x; the glottal stop, ʔ; the voiceless apical slit spirant θ, and the frontal spirants š and ž.

All of the data for the present study were collected in English, and, since some of this data has been published verbatim, some attention may be paid to the English vocabulary of the Kaska. The following list of words and phrases indicate the principal local usages developed for English words.

ANYBODY, *pron.* Everybody, as "anybody eat."

BOSS, *n.* A person who has the right to act upon, order, and care for an object, animal, place, or person, thus, "I'm boss for that woman."

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192 BOTHER, *v.t.* To annoy; to approach sexually with or without the object's willingness; to meddle with something; to disturb; to coerce.
BULLSHIT, *n.* Nonsense; a lie.
CAN'T, *id.* Will not; won't; may not; don't want to, as, "I can't do that."
GRUB, *n.* Any food received from white source other than meat.
HE, *pron.* He; she; it.
HIM, *pron.* Him; her; it.
LOTS, *adj.* Many. As, "Lots of people."
MUST BE, *id.* Probably.
NEVER, *adv.* Not for some time, as, "I never hunt"; not ever.
NEWS, *n.* Unfavorable report, as, "to hear his news"; gossip; information.
NOTHING, *n.* Anything; as, "I never see nothing"; no.
PACK, *v.t.* To carry; to load, as, "to pack dogs"; to steal; to carry off.

196 Obviously all of these as well as all other words carry specific connotations for the Kaska which are sometimes different from their meanings in American speech. Thus a word like "lots," denoting "many," may be used to refer to a group of ten persons with the emotional expression that we would reserve for a mob of hundreds.

191 Several cases of speech defect were noted. One girl, eight years old, stuttered slightly. A young man was pointed out as speaking little and as being unable to command the communication of sentences of any length. The defect was regarded with amusement and was even joked about in the young man's presence. Cases of deafness and mutism were also reported.[13]

195 For insults and vituperation, recourse is generally had to English. The use of such terms is stilted, as though there were no clear realization of their meaning. In situations of emotional stress, delivery is more rapid and under such conditions speakers also manifest a tenseness of the body, including the face, which affects the vocal cords.

201 The Kaska Indians are not a gesticulating people, and the number of socially patterned gestures are relatively limited. Anger is expressed by frowning and by a narrowing of the eyes; shame and embarrassment, by covering the face with the hands and turning away the head. The latter gesture is most common among girls, being rarely used by boys and men. The explanation offered for the gesture was that the feeling of self-consciousness and shame is so intense that the individual does not want others to see her face. Affection, particularly between young people, either of the same or opposite sex, is generally expressed tactually but not by kissing. When the ethnographer's two year old daughter sought to kiss Ann Wiley (6), the latter demurred and cried, "Shame!" When the attempt was repeated, Ann sought to distract the younger girl by calling her attention to something else. Mirth and exuberance (the latter rarely) are released in infectious laughter. Acute hostility may be expressed in refusing to talk to, or look upon, a person, as well as by a sullen, dark facial expression. These are the most common signs used to communicate emotional states, although there are other socially patterned means for the individual to express more personal emotional states. Further discussion of emotional expression is reserved for a later section.

537 In narration, the hands and arms are sometimes used to aid communication. Thus to de-

[13] See also the discussion of linguistic theory; below, p. 230.